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ABSTRACT

A social structural theory of social class differences as reflected in the nature of parent's work, is used to explore class-differentiated family background influences on school and achievement related outcomes of adolescents. Father's high or low job complexity is thought to be related to parental values for either self-direction or conformity, respectively. A conceptual model of possible relations model of possible relations among social origins, parental values, cognitive complexity, and schooling processes was developed and model variables were operationalized. Data obtained from 460 twelfth grade students and their mothers through school records, interviews with mothers, and school-administered questionnaires were factor analyzed with data from seven independent populations. The analysis strongly supports the presence of a self-direction/conformity dimension in parental desires for appropriate conduct in their children. Data from the 12th grade students and their mothers reveal father's occupation to be the primary determinant of parental valuation of self-direction/conformity within racial groups. Black mothers valued conformity more than did white mothers. No sex effect on maternal valuation was found. Measured intelligence was found to be consistently more important in mediating the effects of social origins than are parental self-direction/conformity values. Findings on the whole do not provide strong support for the hypothesized link between parental social position, parental values and the adolescent schooling experience. (Author/RH)

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SOCIAL ORIGINS, PARENTAL VALUES and the INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF INEQUALITY

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Social Origins, Parental Values and the Inter-generational Transmission of Inequality*

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**The authors' contributions to the present research are equal.

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Abstract

Consensus exists among social scientists on the importance of the family of origin for a multitude of individual outcomes, but a complete understanding of the mechanisms producing these parental-filial linkages is lacking. This paper explores the interpretation of the connection between parental socioeconomic origins and adolescent schooling experiences using Melvin Kohn's concept of parental self-direction/conformity values. We suggest that Kohn's parental values explanation of the socioeconomic effects of the family is superior to other views in its social structural emphasis and its identification of a parental socialization value which exhibits substantial covariation with parental social position. We develop a conceptual model which represents the expression of family influences in the behavior of adolescents and, using data from public school students from Louisville, Kentucky and their mothers, we examine the role of maternal self-direction/conformity values in transmitting the effects of parental social position on a variety of schooling variables. Our results replicate the persistent relationship between father's occupational position and parental values (measured here as maternal values), and they indicate limited support for the sensitivity of adolescent school experiences to parental values for white (but not black) students. Our interpretation of these findings calls for a broader conceptualization of the influence of the family on the schooling experiences of adolescents.

Social Origins, Parental Values and the

Inter-generational Transmission of Inequality

Introduction

Empirical research on achievement in American society is persuasive in its documentation of the systematic and persistent advantages enjoyed by individuals born to occupationally and educationally successful parents--this, despite a meritocratic state ideology and national efforts to equalize opportunity. Family background, especially parental socioeconomic status, is known to affect a multitude of desired outcomes, from academic ability and measures of school performance to economic well-being (Sewell and Hauser, 1975; Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1972). Indeed, so thoroughgoing is the influence of family position that Blau and Duncan (1967:205) suggest that complete "equality of opportunity" would entail the virtual elimination of the family system as we now know it.

These empirical regularities are hardly surprising. A child's early years are almost completely monopolized by his or her family, and it is during these years that basic social, academic, linguistic and moral skills are developed (McCandless, 1969, Kerckhoff, 1972). While hardly immutable, these skills (or lack thereof) do serve as initial constraints on the subsequent academic and social development of the child. Even during adolescence, a time often characterized as antithetical to parental definitions of appropriate behavior (e.g. Coleman, 1961), the influence of the family on the offspring remains strong, though perhaps more subtle (Campbell, 1969).

Thus, while there is a broad consensus on the importance of parental background (see Coleman et al., 1966; Jencks et al., 1972), social

scientists still lack an understanding of the basic mechanisms producing parental-filial success (or failure) linkages (see Kerckhoff, 1976). Most literature in the recent "status attainment" tradition, for example, rests on simple assessments of the achievement-related consequences of various parental statuses, or other familial characteristics, such as sibship size or family "intactness." Because these empirical generalizations are open to a variety of interpretations, there is considerable disagreement as to why one's family of origin exerts its academic and motivational influences (compare, for example, Liebowitz, 1974 with Bowles, 1973 or Bourdieu, 1977). We believe these interpretational differences can be traced to an anchoring in one of (at least) three distinct, but related, theoretical traditions which offer a claim on the understanding of these processes.

One of the earliest interpretations of the parent-filial linkages was Hyman's (1953) emphasis on the "value systems of different classes," a socio-cultural view of class-based value differences creating obstacles to mobility for the lower-classes, involving

> less emphasis upon the traditional high success goals, increased awareness of the lack of opportunity to achieve success, and less emphasis upon the achievement goals which in turn would be instrumental for success. (Hyman, 1966:488)

For several years this interpretation, or some variant or it, dominated efforts to understand the effects of socioeconomic background on the achievement desires, needs, or orientations of youth (e.g. Rosen, 1956; Strodtbeck, 1958; Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959; Rehberg, Sinclair and Schafer, 1970, Rehberg, Schafer and Sinclair, 1970). Indeed, an early paper in the status attainment literature by Sewell and his associates (Sewell, Haller and Straus, 1957) alludes to "achievement values" in

interpreting socioeconomic background effects on the educational expectations of youth, and subsequent research in this tradition (e.g. Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969, Alexander, Eckland and Griffin, 1975; Sewell and Hauser, 1975) has largely been devoted to finding variables, including family-related factors, which mediate the effects of social background on socioeconomic outcomes. However, most of the attempts to implicate parental values in the intergenerational transmission of advantage by students of status attainment have focused on somewhat circumscribed behaviors (namely parental encouragement for college attendance; see Haller and Portes, 1973 and Sewell and Shah, 1968) exercised by parents rather late in adolescence. Given the narrowness in scope and the lateness of timing of these variables in the adolescent's school career, it is clear that these programs of research have not exhausted the potential influence of more general parental orientations, especially those which are potentially linked to a child's early development.

A second tradition of research which has aimed at understanding the impact of the family is distinctively psychological, emphasizing the cognitive socialization of the child (e.g. Majoribanks, 1972a, 1972b). This literature (reviewed by Williams, 1976 and Spaeth, 1976) suggests the importance of particular configurations of home environments, themselves determined by family status, ethnic or genetic factors, which create "presses" for the development of specific attitudes or behaviors (Williams, 1976:65). This orientation has generally been less concerned with issues of socioeconomic mobility over generations and more with the fundamental relationship between environmental stimuli and individual responses, but recent efforts by Bijou (1971), Williams (1976) and Spaeth (1976) have attempted to reconceptualize this line of research. Their efforts

have often utilized a social learning approach (see especially Bijou, 1971) and have integrated the notion of environmental stimulation into broader models of socioeconomic achievement processes (see Spaeth, 1976). This view of the parent-filial linkage is different from the socio-cultural perspective discussed above in that it emphasizes the complexity of the environment and the reinforcement of skills indicative of cognitive complexity, rather than the inculcation of success values. In addition, this second view locates the genesis of family influence in the environment of the home rather than the cultural values of a particular social class. While differing in their institutional foci, these views are not necessarily inconsistent. Inasmuch as the class-based values of parents shape the physical and social dimensions of the home environment (e.g. more books, games, and puzzles), one might expect that a cultural emphasis on success may operate via an increase in environmental and interpersonal complexity in the home.

A third view of the socioeconomic effects of family origins is social structural rather than socio-cultural or psychological--it is Kohn's (1969, 1977) "job complexity-parental values" thesis (see also Kohn, 1963, 1976; Pearlin and Kohn, 1966). [We discuss Kohn's ideas more thoroughly below and present them in abbreviated form here.] Kohn argues that the structural imperatives of a person's job affect the acquisition of child-rearing values along a continuum of self-direction/conformity; these values then influence parental orientations to the socialization of children. This "self-direction values" interpretation departs from the "success values" tradition reviewed above in at least two respects. First, Kohn's empirically-based conception of self-direction/conformity valuation cannot be equated with the valuation

of success (see Kohn's [1977:xxxiv] discussion of this). Second, his theoretical explanation of the social class-parental values relationship has an explicitly structural emphasis, as opposed to cultural (e.g. Riessman, 1962) or narrowly economic (e.g. Liebowitz, 1974). Social class differences in the nature of work--its relative substantive complexity, nonroutinization, and freedom from supervision--are what Kohn (1969, 1977) believes condition the differences in parental values along the continuum of self-direction/conformity. Again, this view is not necessarily inconsistent with the environmental stimulation view. Insofar as parental preferences are able to shape the dimensions of the home environment, one might expect the exercise of parental self-direction/conformity values to yield a more cognitively complex, nonroutinized, and nonauthoritarian family experience during childhood and adolescence. This includes not only more complex physical objects and learning tools (see Bijou, 1971 and Bloom, 1964), but also more complex social arrangements (e.g. family interaction styles [Bowerman and Elder (1964); Strodtbeck (1967)] or patterns of parental decision-making [Swanson (1974)]).

The present paper focuses on the last of these three perspectives on the parent-filial linkage because, as we noted above, it incorporates (or is consistent with) important components of the other views (i.e. values, social class, environmental complexity). In addition, Kohn has identified a parental socialization value which does exhibit substantial covariation with parental social position, thereby enhancing the potential for a more unified presentation of a structural interpretation of intergenerational continuities in socioeconomic achievement.[1] Building on Kohn's (1969, 1976, 1977) work, we explore in this paper the familial bases of the influences

of social background on the schooling and achievement-related outcomes of adolescents. Our effort begins with a more detailed review of Kohn's thesis and a statement of a model developed to represent the expression of family origin variables in the behavior of adolescents. Then we estimate the parameters of a derived model using data on public school students and their mothers from Louisville, Kentucky.

Theoretical Background

Beginning in 1957 Melvin Kohn (1963, 1969, 1976, 1977; Pearlin and Kohn, 1966, Kohn and Schooler, 1969, 1973, 1978) initiated a series of studies designed to assess the impact of parental social class on parental child-rearing values and to interpret why such class differences exist. Kohn (1969) found that middle-class parents were more likely to place an emphasis on their child's self-direction (self-control, responsibility, an interest in why and how things happen, etc.), while working-class parents stressed their child's conformity to external authority (cleanliness, good manners, obedience, etc.). The demonstration of this type of relationship is not unique to Kohn's work, but his efforts to systematize these empirical regularities and to offer a plausible interpretation of these relationships are unparallelled.[2]

Kohn reasoned that class differences in the parental valuation of self-direction vs. conformity stem from differences in the job activities and duties performed by members of different classes. Middle-class jobs are, in general, more complex, less heavily supervised, and less routinized than are working-class jobs, which entail relatively less complex activities and which are subject to more external supervision and routinization (see Kohn and Schooler, 1973, 1978). In order to perform adequately in complex,

unstructured work settings, middle-class men and women must initiate action, rely on their own judgements, and be intellectually flexible enough to handle uncertainty. In short, they must be self-directive. Conversely, for working-class men and women to succeed in settings offering or demanding less complexity and greater supervision, they must abide by company rules, structure their behavior according to the pace of the work flow, and acquiesce to the dictates of authority. These "structural imperatives of the job," then condition men and womens' views of both the possible and the desirable, not only for themselves but for their children as well. Middle-class parents therefore (perhaps nonconsciously) value self-direction in their children more than conformity because they believe such attitudes/behaviors are necessary for their childrens' successful performance in social roles (both present and future). For precisely the same reasons, working-class parents value conformity more than they do self-direction.

The empirical analyses carried out by Kohn and others (Kohn, 1969, Gecas and Nye, 1974; Wright and Wright, 1976; Kohn, 1976; see Kohn [1977] for a review of this literature) have persistently documented social class (or occupational self-direction) differences in parental valuation. Virtually no research has presented any evidence regarding whether these class-differentiated values actually affect childhood or adolescent achievement, personality or school performance (see the discussion of this issue in Kohn [1977:xxxiii]). However, Kohn, in both the first edition of Class and Conformity (1969) and the preface to the second (1977), explicitly states that "...class differences in values contribute to the perpetuation of inequality" (1969:200) by influencing the development of the capacities, both cognitive and noncognitive, that children will need for middle-class and professional life.[3] Kohn further argues

that

> Parents train children for the world as they, themselves, experience it, and this training tends to equip the children for the parents' station in life, thus serving as a brake on mobility. (1977:xxxiv)

While Kohn's formulation does not include an explicit structuralist formulation of how these values affect the child (see Kohn, 1977:xxxiii), one view is that they should produce a parallel structuring of the home environment. To the extent that parental desires or values shape the physical and social dimensions of the home, one would expect that self-direction values would provide a cognitively complex, nonroutinized family experience during childhood (e.g. Williams, 1976, Majoribanks, 1972a). We know, however, that during adolescence the exercise of parental influence and values shifts from a primary focus on the home environment in the direction of shaping and channeling the schooling experiences of youth (see Campbell, 1969). Thus, self-directive parents may be expected to encourage school careers which permit more complex, nonroutinized, and autonomous academic and interpersonal experiences. Participation in the social complexities offered by extracurricular activities and selection of the more challenging college preparatory courses, for example, represent school career decisions that self-directive parents are likely to encourage. Certainly, both are sensitive to parental socioeconomic standing (Alexander, Cook and McDill, 1978; Otto and Alwin, 1977). Similarly, in a relatively self-directed environment an adolescent must exercise greater initiative and independence in order to accomplish desired objectives. Hence, parental valuation of self-direction should stimulate youth to believe that one's external environment is subject to one's own actions; that is, such a valuation by parents could be expected

to enhance an adolescent's internal locus of control. By contrast, more conventional school success outcomes, whether achieving good marks or popularity among one's peers, may be stressed as much by conformist as by self-directive parents (Kohn, 1969). It should be emphasized that, as conceptualized by Kohn, the self-direction/conformity value dimension is essentially independent of success valuation, a value concept stressed in other research traditions (see above). Achievement in tasks offered by the school, either academic or social, as well as other outcomes of the schooling process, e.g. career aspirations, may involve "playing by the rules" or simply conforming to middle-class expectations as much as it does individual creativity and initiative (see Gintis, 1971; Porter, 1974). If this is indeed the case, then there may be no unambiguous relationships between "conventional" academic outcomes, e.g. course marks, and parental valuation along the dimension of self-direction/conformity.

The Conceptual Model

In Figure 1 we present a diagram representing a preliminary model for examining some hypotheses derived from Kohn's theoretical analysis. The central theoretical concerns of this model involve (1) the extent to which social origins affect parental values and (2) the extent to which parental values serve to mediate the effects of social origins on the schooling experiences and outcomes of adolescents. Several aspects of the model deserve mention. First, our conceptual model incorporates the concepts of parental values and cognitive complexity at more than one point in time, even though, due to data limitations, we measure these concepts only in adolescence. Inasmuch as most of the theoretical discussions of family socioeconomic effects via parental values implicitly

refer to influences during childhood, our conceptualization of the process must articulate this early linkage. Our model of the process indicates that early parental values depend on social origins and subsequently affect the child's cognitive complexity, thereby mediating in part the effects of social origins on cognitive development. Early cognitive complexity in turn affects later parental values in the model on the assumption that the child's intellectual abilities help shape his or her environment (see Jencks et al., 1972; Williams, 1976). Since we have no direct measure of early parental values, their effects are confounded with those of social origins and early cognitive complexity, the latter being indirectly tapped by our measure of verbal intelligence in the ninth grade. For this reason, we are not able to unequivocally interpret the causal nexus between parental values and cognitive complexity as measured in our data.

Our model indicates that the effects of parental values on schooling outcomes and experiences are to be assessed independently of measured intelligence. We should note that we use the verbal intelligence score as a measure of cognitive complexity, knowing that the concept of cognitive complexity is broader than the specific skills indexed by standard intelligence tests (Boocock, 1972). Even so, we believe that the institutionalized use and societal acceptance of this particular dimension of cognitive complexity justifies our choice. Because this variable (measured intelligence) reflects the combined effects of pre-adolescent educational experiences, the home environment and inherited abilities, it is important that it be controlled in assessing the independent effects of parental values.

Although there is sufficient basis in the current literature to justify an interest in the causal influences among the schooling experience and school outcome variables, we do not focus on these here. To do so

would unnecessarily lengthen and complicate the analysis and our reportage of the results. For the purposes of this paper, we need only devote our attention to the total effects of parental values and other prior variables on the schooling variables. We will, of course, also concern ourselves with the extent to which the soci l origin variables' effects are potentially mediated by measured intelligence and, especially, parental values.

Four aspects of the schooling process are suggested by current research and our introductory discussion: (1) grade performance (e.g. Sewell and Hauser, 1975), (2) curriculum placement (e.g. Hauser et al., 1976; Alexander and McDill, 1976; Alexander et al., 1978), (3) involvement in school activities (e.g. Otto, 1976; Hanks and Eckland, 1976; Otto and Alwin, 1977); and (4) several subjective schooling outcomes, including academic self-esteem (Brookover et al., 1961), locus of control (Gurin et al., 1969), and expected educational and occupational attainments (e.g. Sewell and Hauser, 1975, Alexander et al., 1975, Hout and Morgan, 1975).

In the present analysis the category of social origins includes the student's race and sex, his (her) father's and mother's occupations, father's presence (absence) in the home, the educational level of the household head, family income and the number of siblings. These variables exhaust most of the social origin characteristics found to be important in social mobility research (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan et al., 1972; Sewell and Hauser, 1975).

The effects implied by our model and the foregoing discussion are estimated separately for categories of race. Prior research using these and other similar bodies of data have found noteable interactions by race (Hout and Morgan, 1975; Porter, 1974; Portes and Wilson, 1976; Kerckhoff and Campbell, 1977; DeBord, Griffin and Clark, 1977). We

expect to find two types of interaction. First, to the extent that the conditions of the home environment produce differences in parental values by race, we expect to find differing determinants of parental values over racial categories. Second, parental values may affect different aspects of the adolescent schooling experience depending on the race of the child, and to the extent that this happens, we expect to observe interactions by race. Although some of the literature cited above with regard to race interactions has also reported some interactions by sex, we assess only the main effects of sex within racial categories. By essentially pooling the data for males and females within racial groups we ignore whatever meaningful differences may exist between the sexes in the effects of social origins on parental values and measured intelligence, their subsequent effects on aspects of the schooling process, and other parameters of the model. However, we believe that this sacrifice of detail is warranted given our substantive interests. In addition, assessing the parameters of our model within groups cross-classified by sex and race in the present sample would reduce the subsamples to relatively small sizes (e.g. there are only 76 black males in these data). So in the interests of producing relatively stable parameter estimates we have limited our analyses of interaction to those which occur by race.

The Sample and Measurement of Variables

We use data from a sample of 460 adolescents and their mothers from the 1973 population survey of Louisville, Kentucky public high school twelfth grade students. These data are described in more detail by Hout and Morgan (1975). The measures come from three sources. First, verbal intelligence scores on the Lorge-Thorndike test (obtained during the ninth

grade) and cumulative grade point average were obtained from school records. Second, interviews with mothers provided measures of 1972 family income, mother's occupation and her responses to indicators of parental values (see our discussion of the parental values measures below). Third, a school-administered student questionnaire provided measures of the number of siblings, father's occupation, father's presence (absence), mother's and father's education, student expected education and occupation, curriculum placement, involvement in extracurricular activities, and responses to items measuring academic self-esteem (Brookover et al., 1961) and locus of control (Gurin et al., 1969).[4]

Variables measuring education or expected education are expressed in years of schooling. Occupational measures are transformations of the detailed Census occupational classification into Duncan's (1961) SEI, with the exception of mother's occupation which is included as a set of two dummy variables representing blue-collar and white-collar categories (nonworking mothers comprise the omitted category). Family income is expressed in two-thousand dollar units. Participation in extracurricular activities is measured as a sum of reported involvement in eight activity areas.[5] Curriculum placement is an ordinal ranking of vocational or commercial courses (low), general courses (medium), and college preparatory courses (high). Finally, we devote a separate discussion to the measurement of parental values.

The Conceptualization and Measurement of Parental Values

Kohn (1969) conceives of values as "standards of desirability" and parental values as those standards which "parents would most like to see embodied in their children's behavior." (Kohn, 1969:18) This conception conforms to the general properties Rokeach (1973) assigns "instrumental" in contrast to "terminal" values, the former having to do with desirable "modes of conduct" and the latter with desirable "end-states of existence." (Rokeach, 1973:5-12) A central property of this conception is that values condition and direct the behavior of those who hold them, and in the case of parents, affect the nature and content of their interaction with their children. Variation in the criteria of desirability which parents have for their child's conduct should, therefore, produce corresponding variation in the capacities and performances of children.

As we noted earlier, it is a major thesis of Kohn's work that parental values and orientations originate in the structural imperatives of the working conditions associated with parental socioeconomic position. Indeed, the relationship between parental values and "social class position" has been repeatedly demonstrated (see Kohn, 1976), and the existence of a relationship, albeit a modest one, has remained essentially unquestioned, even in cross-national comparisons (Kohn, 1977:xxxvi-xxxix). In order to examine the thesis that this relationship is implicated in the transmission of advantages and disadvantages of social position from parent to child, we have replicated Kohn's measurement and scaling of self-direction/conformity as closely as possible. Kohn's original questionnaire items are as follows:

a. Which three qualities listed on this card would you say are the most desirable for a (boy, girl) of (child's) age to have?

b. Which one of these three is the most desirable of all?

c. All of these may be desirable, but could you tell me which three you consider least important?

d. And, which one of these three is least important of all?

1) that he has good manners.
2) that he tries hard to succeed.
3) that he is honest.
4) that he is neat and clean.
5) that he has good sense and sound judgement.
6) that he has self-control.
7) that he acts like a boy (she acts like a girl) should.
8) that he gets along well with other children.
9) that he obeys his parents well.
10) that he is responsible.
11) that he is considerate of others.
12) that he is interested in how and why things happen.
13) that he is a good student.[6]

Kohn's measure of self-direction/conformity is based on the results of a factor analysis of these thirteen items (Kohn, 1969:58). Using maximum-likelihood factor analysis procedures (Joreskog, 1969; Joreskog and Sorbom, 1976), we attempted to replicate the factor Kohn identified as self-direction/conformity in each of eight independent populations for which we have data. These analyses and the descriptions of the populations involved are given in Table 1. As can be seen from an inspection

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Insert Table 1 about here

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of the table, with the exception of the 1975 GSS fathers, there is support for the self-direction/conformity factor in these several populations.[7] Therefore, contrary to the suggestion made by Wright and Wright (1976:531-32),

there appears to be a replicable dimension of parental valuation involving self-direction/conformity which may be constructed in the examination of the hypothesis that parental values are expressed in the capacities and performances of children.[8] An improvement represented by our measurement of parental values over that predominantly employed in past research is that we use the values of mothers rather than fathers (see Kohn, 1977:111). Maternal values are a more precise indication of parental standards for our purposes because mothers generally allocate more time than fathers to the socialization and tutoring of their children (see Hill and Stafford, 1974). Kohn (1969:20-24), however, has shown that mothers and fathers hold essentially the same values for their offspring, and the results in Table 1 indicate that, in general, there are few differences in the patterns of loadings of value indicators on the self-direction/conformity factor for mothers and fathers. Still, inasmuch as we measure the values of the parent who is generally more directly responsible for child rearing, we provide a stronger test of the hypothesis of the intervening role of parental self-direction/conformity values.

In order to obtain factor score weights for the parental value items that would not capitalize on the sampling variability of a single sample, we obtained factor score weights for a self-direction/conformity factor derived simultaneously in the data from two populations: (1) the 1973 Louisville mothers and (2) the 1973 NORC-GSS mothers. [See Joreskog (1971b) and Sorbom and Joreskog (1976) for discussions of the simultaneous factor model and the methods employed to perform such analyses.] Our analysis reveals that both populations may be described by the same factor pattern.[9] The weights used for the items in a linear composite are λ_i/ψ^2_{ig}, where λ_i is the factor pattern coefficient for the ith variable in the simultaneous model and ψ^2_{ig} is the residual variance for the ith variable in the gth population (see Joreskog, 1971a).[10]

Findings

The means and standard deviations for the variables in our analysis are given in Table 2. The similarity of the standard deviations across racial categories indicates that there is little to be gained in precision by using metric coefficients, so we use standard-form coefficients to assess comparisons of effects both within and between race categories. The results of our regression analyses are given in Table 3. The reduced-form equations implied by our model are presented separately for blacks and whites. The first column of each panel of results contains the effects

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Insert Tables 2 & 3 here

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of social origins and measured intelligence on parental values, and the second through the ninth columns contain the effects of social origins, measured intelligence and parental values on the schooling variables.

Social origins, parental values and cognitive complexity. Among the social origin variables, father's occupation registers the strongest influence on parental values, and this holds regardless of the race of the family (although the effect is stronger for whites than for blacks). This result confirms the findings of others (Kohn, 1969, 1976; Wright and Wright, 1976) that where the father is engaged in work which is accorded higher levels of occupational status, parents value self-direction and devalue conformity in their children. This finding, especially for whites, is particularly impressive given the extensive controls we employ for numerous social background characteristics. Our results suggest that, while a variety of background variables may modestly affect parental values (e.g. the positive influence of father's presence in the home for whites),

it is the status of the father's occupation which is of predominant importance, a finding which is consistent with Kohn's (1969, 1977) interpretation of social class influences on parental desires for childrens' behavior.[11] Finally, we note that the stronger effect for whites in the parental values equation is generally consistent with racial variations in the saliency of social origins for a variety of outcomes, wherein social background is relatively more important for whites (e.g. Hout and Morgan, 1975; Portes and Wilson, 1975; DeBord et al., 1977).

Race not only interacts with socioeconomic status origins in the determination of parental values; it also exerts a "main effect" worthy of comment. Employing standardization techniques described in Althauser and Wigler (1972), we can assess the consequences of race for maternal valuation of self-direction/conformity. Using the metric regression coefficients (not shown in Table 3) for blacks and the means of the predictor variables for whites, we may produce an "expected" level of maternal valuation on the assumption that blacks resemble the "average" white in our sample. This yields an expected black maternal valuation of -3.57 (lower scores indicate greater conformity), a value which is roughly one-half of a (black) standard deviation below the observed white mean level of parental valuation (see Table 2). Black mothers, then, tend to devalue self-direction compared to white mothers, even after adjusting for racial differences in social origins.[12] Black mothers are undoubtedly aware of the institutional obstacles to socioeconomic advancement confronting their children, and given such knowledge, these mothers may value "conformist" behaviors in their children in the hope that the adoption and exhibition of conventional white standards of conduct (e.g. obedience, being neat

and clean) by their offspring may to some degree mitigate the disadvantages of race. While this is purely speculative, of course, it is quite consistent with the arguments and data presented by Porter (1974), who found that, relative to white parents, black parents stress conformity more heavily. Additionally, in Porter's (1974) Project Talent sample conformity enhanced the ambitions, academic performance, and educational attainments of black males. It should be emphasized that our measure of parental values reflects maternal standards of desirable conduct, but we note that Kohn (1969:59) reports that black fathers also "...value conformity to external standards more than do whites of similar class positions."

Interestingly, we find no direct sex effect on maternal valuation, suggesting that mothers value self-direction/conformity equally in the behavior of their sons and daughters.[13] In the present analysis there does not seem to be a noticeable sex-role bias in definitions of appropriate behavior, a finding consistent with the absence of sex differences in parental encouragement to attend college in these data (see Hout and Morgan, 1975).

If self-directive parents do provide a more cognitively complex home environment (Spaeth, 1976), then net of social origins, parental values should directly stimulate verbal intelligence. As noted above, however, we cannot directly assess this hypothesis because of the temporal aspect of our measures of verbal intellience and parental values. Therefore, we will not comment on the intelligence-parental values coefficients in our analysis, except to note that the results in Table 3 suggest that the net association between the two variables is virtually zero.[14] Unless there are reciprocal effects of opposite sign between the two variables, these

data essentially suggest that the two variables, as measured here, are causally independent.[15]

Parental values and schooling experiences. Academic performance, curriculum placement and involvement in school extracurricular activities, being cumulative results of daily performance in the social organization of the school, are all important aspects of the adolescent schooling experience. Taken together, these variables index the child's exposure to increasingly complex socialization efforts, both cognitive and non-cognitive. If self-directive parental values affect the school-based experiences of the adolescent, then we would expect them to surface in one or more of the spheres of activity measured in our data. Earlier we reasoned that the greater valuation of complexity among self-directive parents should predispose their offspring to "complexity-related" schooling choices, but should not necessarily influence course marks. We find some support for our expectations in Table 3. Curriculum placement and involvement in school activities, but not grade point average, are somewhat dependent upon maternal values for white youth. For this group self-direction values increase the likelihood of placement in the more demanding college preparatory curricula and the amount of activity involvement. Therefore, maternal self-direction/conformity values do serve to transmit some of the influence of social background (especially father's occupational position) on these two dimensions of the schooling experience.

For blacks, on the other hand, it is measured intelligence which is the dominant influence on all measures of the school experience--grades, curriculum and activities--but for whites this is the case for grade performance only. Among black youth, then, it is clearly the capacity for cognitive complexity (measured intelligence) rather than parental

desires for complexity that affects the aspects of the schooling experience assessed here. Among whites both are important, although grades are not affected by parental values.

The absence of an effect of parental values on grade performance for either racial category has at least two possible explanations. Being a "good student" entails combining both conformist (proper classroom conduct, respect for teachers, etc.) and self-directed behavior (personal diligence, motivation, intellectual curiosity, etc.). Since Kohn's conceptualization of parental values puts these dual tendencies in opposition to one another, their joint impact cannot be assessed. A second possibility rests on the observation that a high grade average traditionally has been the major social signification of academic success during adolesence. Insofar as parental values can influence this successful performance, parental valuation of success would be the most directly relevant value, and as we noted earlier, this is not a defining characteristic of Kohn's scale.

The findings of maternal valuation effects on activity involvement and curriculum placement for whites only can possibly be explained by the fact that most of the black students in the Louisville schools attended segregated inner-city schools. The greater alienation of these schools from their communities is well-known (e.g. McDill and Rigsby, 1973), suggesting that they provide fewer channels for parental input into their childrens' schooling experiences. Our findings indicate that, at least in our sample, as an arena for parental value implementation the school setting is more available for white than black parents. In principle it is possible to separate the effects of a child's race from the school he attends by analyzing our model within schools (see Hauser et al., 1976; Alwin, 1976). However, in the present sample the degree of racial segregation in the schools prevents

the unconfounding of race and school.

Parental values and the subjective outcomes of schooling. The final four columns in each panel of Table 3 indicate that the student's locus of control, academic self-esteem, and expected attainments are all unaffected by parental valuation of self-direction/conformity in these data. This is the case for both racial groups. Again, it is the capacity of the youth for cognitive complexity (measured intelligence) which provides the strongest influence on these outcomes for both groups. As we have indicated in the previous discussion, the effect of measured intelligence in these equations may itself be interpreted as an effect of parental values, or perhaps more generally, the family environment, as least to the extent that these factors are implicated in early cognitive development (Bloom, 1964; Williams, 1976). However, the present research cannot address these issues.

Our findings regarding locus of control are somewhat surprising since, among the measures included here as dependent variables, it is locus of control which ostensibly shares the most in common with Kohn's measure of parental self-direction/conformity. In Rotter's (1966) original conception of locus of control, internal control represented the belief that rewards follow directly from a person's own behavior, and as such it is similar to Kohn's conception of self-direction. In the Gurin et al. (1969) adaptation of Rotter's scale (which we use here), the meaning of internal control shifted more toward a sense of competence or personal efficacy. Given this clarification, then, of our measure of locus of control, our finding that "feelings of competence" among high school students are strongly affected by measured intelligence, but not maternal values, is less surprising.

The results for expected attainments in Table 3 are also somewhat unanticipated, but perhaps understandable. We favor an interpretation similar

to the one we advanced for the absence of an effect of parental values on grade performance. Achievement, and therefore achievement expectations, in American society may involve conformity as much as it does initiative, ingenuity and creativity (Gintis, 1971; Porter, 1974). So, conventional criteria of achievement, whether grade performance or expected attainments, may be valued as highly by parents with conformist-oriented values as by those valuing self-direction. As we indicated previously, the value indicator "tries hard to succeed" in Kohn's scale is virtually unrelated to the overall self-direction/conformity factor (see Table 1), and the value indicator "good student" is associated with the conformity pole of the scale. These factors, coupled with the persistent findings regarding the role of parental encouragement variables in expected attainments (e.g. Hout and Morgan, 1975; Sewell and Hauser, 1975), may suggest the importance of additional dimensions of parental valuation necessary to account for parental influences on the schooling process. In any event, our results do indicate that parental valuation of self-direction/conformity is not responsible for the effects of parental status origins on the subjective outcomes of schooling measured here.

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this paper has been to ascertain the degree to which parental values, measured in terms of Kohn's dimension of self-direction/conformity, affect a variety of aspects of the schooling process. If parental values affect facets of the adolescent experience, they may be implicated as mediators of the well-documented effects of social origins on adolescent academic and social development. We will briefly review our findings here and then comment on their implications for future research.

First, our analysis of Kohn's parental values indicators in eight separate populations strongly supports the presence of a self-direction/conformity dimension in parental desires for appropriate conduct in their children. We concluded that the hypothesis of factorial invariance across populations with respect to the dimension of self-direction/conformity is tenable, but we did not formally examine this hypothesis (see Kohn [1977: xxix] for a discussion of this issue). We believe that further examination of this issue is required, both among and within populations of interest. Specifically, it may be of practical value to examine the invariance of Kohn's self-direction/conformity factor among race and sex groups. Our use of a single set of item weights for both racial categories and both sexes in the present analysis has facilitated meaningful comparisons, but the relatively weak determination of maternal values for blacks and the subsequent weak effects of parental values for them as well may suggest the need for a separate conceptualization of Kohn's value indicators for blacks. There may be little a priori justification for an alternative conceptualization of values for blacks, but we imagine that in principle groups may differ not only in their levels of self-direction/conformity, but in the definition of what constitutes self-directed vs. conforming behavior as well. This possibility awaits further investigation.

Our second major finding is that, consistent with Kohn's (1969, 1976) and others' research, our analysis of the Louisville data reveals father's occupation to be the primary determinant of parental valuation of self-direction/conformity within racial groups. This finding persists, despite our extensive controls for several other social origin variables, and we view this as particularly important in that we use mate nal values rather than those of the father, as has been the case in most previous research.

Most of Kohn's research (except for the Turin study; see Kohn [1977:111]) has not dealt with the link between the social structural position of men and the values of their wives (or vice versa). It is reassuring, therefore, that in the present analysis the basic social position-parental values relationship holds, despite our use of maternal values. Furthermore, as we argued above, the measurement of maternal values is directly pertinent to an examination of the hypothesis that parental values are expressed in the capacities and performances of children, since mothers appear to be the primary agents of socialization in the home. The finding of a causal dependence of maternal values on the father's occupational position, we believe, provides an even stronger basis from which to argue that parental values are implicated in the transmission of advantage and disadvantage from generation to generation. A corollary to this finding is that, controlling for differences in social origins, black mothers tend to value conformity and devalue self-direction more than do white mothers, a finding which is also consistent with past research.

Our third major finding is that measured intelligence is consistently more important in mediating the effects of social origins than are parental self-direction/conformity values. While this finding is not particularly surprising, it serves to underscore the merits of an environmental complexity interpretation of the adolescent schooling experience. It is primarily the capacity for handling environmental complexity (measured intelligence) that mediates the effects of social origins on aspects of the schooling experience measured here. Parental desires for complexity in the behavior of their children do affect some aspects of the schooling process for whites--activity involvement and curriculum placement--but parental value effects never surpass the strength of the effects of measured intelligence in our

analysis.

We explored the possibility that some of our null findings regarding the effects of parental values were the result of random measurement error in the measurement of our theoretical constructs. Specifically, we corrected the correlations involving parental values, locus of control and academic self-esteem for attenuation due to random measurement error (see footnotes 4 and 7), reanalyzing the resulting relationships to produce disattenuated estimates of the effects presented in Table 3. Although the magnitudes of the significant effects changed, our results (not presented here) indicated essentially the same pattern of effects.

While we were able in the present analysis to isolate several aspects of the schooling process which showed some sensitivity to parental child-rearing values, our findings on the whole do not provide strong support for the hypothesized link between parental social position, parental values and the adolescent schooling experience. We emphasize, however, that in many respects our analysis does not address the hypothesis on its own terms. For example, we are unable to capture variation in parental values during pre-adolescence due to limitations of our data, and we are therefore essentially ignorant of how these values are transmitted to children. We have noted that the strong effects of measured intelligence in our analysis may in part be interpreted in terms of the influence of parental values on cognitive development at an earlier stage of the life cycle. We have also indicated that there may be other value dimensions, e.g. parental emphasis on achievement, in addition to self-direction/conformity which may be necessary to account for the influence of parental valuation on several of the schooling variables studied here. These clearly represent themes which should be pursued in future research.

Given the selective nature of parental values effects in our analysis, perhaps a broader conceptualization of the influence of the family is required in order to account for family socioeconomic origin effects on the schooling variables studied here. In particular, we believe Spaeth's (1976) conceptualization involving complexities in the total environment, rather than just those related to the parental work environment, may provide additional insight into the understanding of how family socialization affects school experiences. In addition, a more general conceptualization of family effects would encourage the integration of the several theoretical perspectives on intergenerational linkages discussed at the beginning of this paper.

Footnotes

1. Kohn, of course, is not unique in assuming that parental socialization is responsible for variations in adolescent achievements. Rehberg, Sinclair and Schafer (1970), Bowerman and Elder (1964) and many others have presented conceptualizations and/or empirical data purporting to demonstrate that particular socialization practices affect adolescent achievement variables. This body of research, while pioneering, nonetheless suffers from particular deficiencies of sampling, measurement, and interpretation (see, for example, the earlier assessments of Scanzoni [1966] and Kahl [1965], and the more recent brief review by DeBord [1977]). More importantly, much of this research is only marginally useful for explaining why children from high-status families generally have more successful academic experiences, precisely the issue addressed in this paper. For example, unlike Kohn's dimension of self-direction/conformity, several of the socialization practices studied by others (e.g. Rehberg et al., 1970) simply do not exhibit much social class variation.

2. The Lynds (1929) in their classic Middletown study, uncovered roughly the same dimension of parental child-rearing values. See Wright and Wright (1976) and Kohn (1976) for recent successful replications of Kohn's basic finding, and see Kohn (1977) for a review of many studies dealing with this issue.

3. Kohn's ideas about parental working conditions, values, and the future positioning of sons and daughters in the socioeconomic hierarchy are explicitly employed by the radical economists, Bowles (1972, 1973) and Bowles and Gintis (1976), in their interpretations of the reproduction of socioeconomic inequality across generations. But, once again, no empirical evaluations of the linkages are presented.

Footnotes cont.

4. The four-item self-esteem scale has an internal consistency reliability of .80 and the five-item locus of control scale has a reliability of .31.

5. The eight activities are: a) varsity or intramural sports or girls' athletic associations, b) band, cheerleaders, pep club, majorettes, etc., c) school newspaper, yearbook, annual, etc., d) school subject clubs, such as science, history, language, business, art, e) debating, dramatics, chorus, etc., f) hobby clubs, such as electronics, crafts, photography, etc., g) career clubs, such as Future Teachers, etc., and h) student council, school or class officer, student government, political clubs.

6. Kohn's (1969:48) scoring system is as follows: the most valued of all = 5; one of the three most valued, but not the most valued = 4; neither one of the three most nor one of the three least valued = 3; one of the three least valued, but not the least valued = 2; the least valued of all = 1.

7. The zero-order correlations among the factor loadings for the seven populations (excluding the 1975 NORC-GSS fathers) range from .82 to .96.

8. Wright and Wright (1976:531-32) were unable to obtain a pattern of factor loadings for respondents in the 1973 NORC-GSS (regardless of parenthood) which, in their view, matched Kohn's. They concluded that "this suggests, as one possibility, that there may be no attitudinal or valuational structure abroad in the population to conform to the dimensions isolated by Kohn." (1976:531) Our results using the 1973 NORC-GSS data (see Table 1) and Kohn's (1976) results do not support such a conclusion. Kohn's (1977) unreported results regarding factorial invariance support our conclusion.

Footnotes cont.

9. Following the notation of Joreskog's (1971b) exposition, $\chi^2_{\Lambda|k} = \chi^2_{\Lambda} - \chi^2_{k} = 870.12 - 861.40 = 8.73$, with degrees of freedom to $d_{\Lambda} - d_{k} = 119 - 108 = 11$. A χ^2 value of 8.73 with 11 degrees of freedom is not significant at conventionally low levels of statistical significance, thereby supporting the hypothesis of an invariant factor pattern in the two populations and lending support to the procedures we have adopted.

10. Our composite for parental values then is PVAL = $-.879\ y_1 + .094\ y_2 - .369\ y_3 - 1.071\ y_4 + .617\ y_5 + .286\ y_6 + .063\ y_8 - .449\ y_9 + .301\ y_{10} + .314\ y_{11} + .722\ y_{12} - .257\ y_{13}$. Note that our score excludes item 7 due to the absence of data. This will have little effect on our results, owing to the fact that this item loads poorly on the self-direction/conformity factor in all eight populations presented in Table 1. The reliability of the parental values scale in our sample is .604 (see Joreskog, 1971a).

11. We suspect that occupational status is acting as a proxy for Kohn's primary measure of occupational influence, self-direction. Unfortunately, we lack data on occupational self-direction and are unable to directly test Kohn's hypothesis about the nature of work and values. We can approximate one component of Kohn's measure of self-direction, namely substantive complexity of work with scores reported by Temme (1975). For every job title in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT) some 21,000 estimates were derived for the job's typical level of complexity of work with data, people and things. Temme (1975) estimates the average scores associated with the DOT occupations for each of the 584 detailed occupational titles in the 1970 Census classification of occupations. The 584 Census occupations explain approximately 75-80 percent of the variation in each of the scores across the 21,000 job titles in the DOT. We then assigned these scores to the detailed

Census codes for father's occupation in our data and constructed a weighted linear composite measure of occupational complexity (see Kohn and Schooler, 1975). In parallel analyses using this variable in place of the Duncan SEI measure we find that complexity does positively affect parental self-direction/conformity, but its effects for both blacks and whites were considerably weaker than the ones associated with the Duncan scale. These results in no way belie Kohn's thesis since we were unable to measure the remaining (and possibly more important) components of Kohn's conception of occupational self-direction--routinization of work tasks and closeness of supervision. Rather than employ only the single component of self-direction (occupational complexity), we use the more powerful occupational status measure.

12. An alternative procedure employs the white regression equation but substitutes the black means into the equation. The assumption here is that blacks convert their background resources at rates identical to those of whites. This procedure produces an expected black maternal valuation of -4.37, about one and one-quarter (black) standard deviations below the white mean and even lower than the observed black mean. Once again, the substantive conclusion is that black mothers value conformity and devalue self-direction in their offspring more than do white mothers.

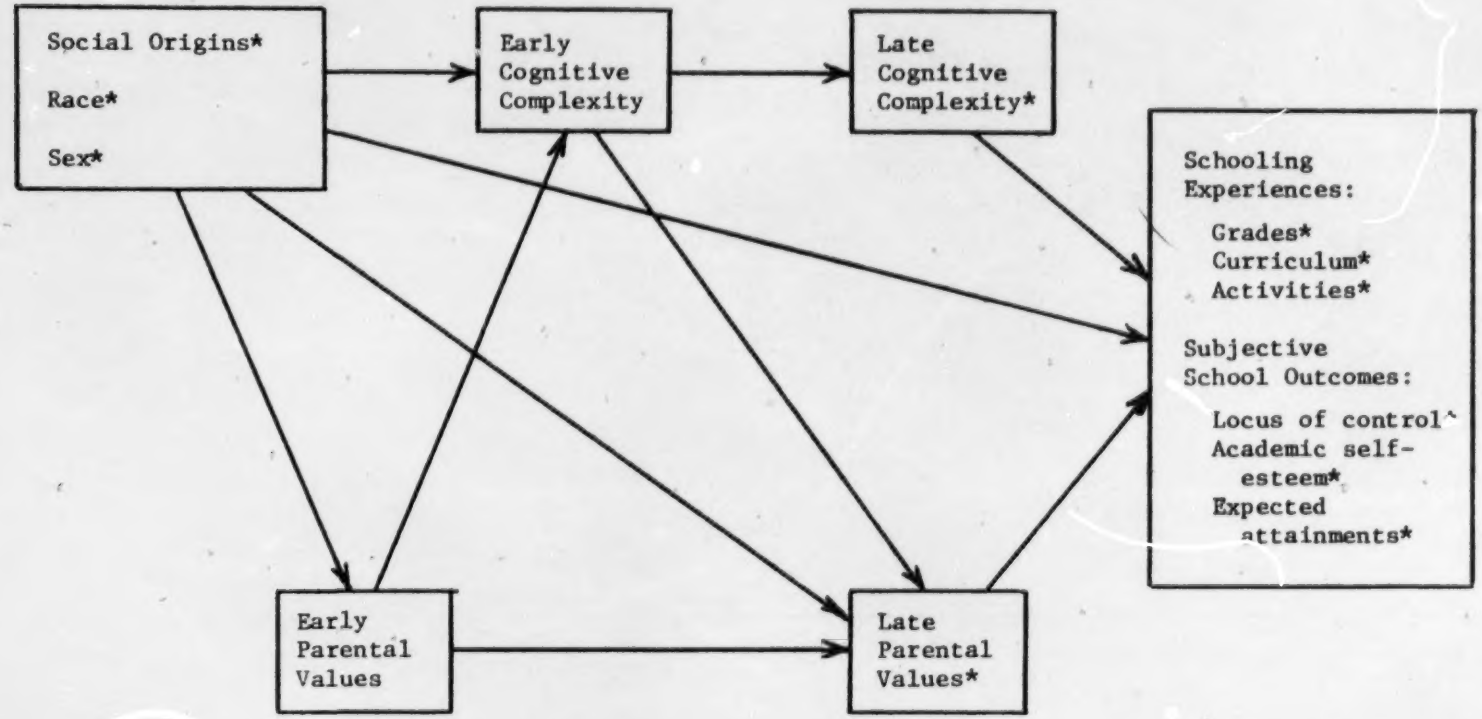
13. Kohn (1969) reported that fathers' values differed somewhat according to the sex of the offspring. However, much of this gender difference was due to the item "acts like a boy (girl) should," an item not measured in our data (see Table 1). The only other substantial sex difference involves the item "neat and clean," which fathers emphasize as an appropriate attribute of female behavior (see Kohn 1969:54-56). We have not examined the sex differences in parental values in our data

in depth.

14. We should note that the estimates of social background on maternal valuation remain unchanged when we exclude measured intelligence from the equations for both races.

15. On the assumption that parental valuation of self-direction/conformity is relatively stable between the 9th and 12th grades, we entertained the hypothesis of mutual causation between verbal intelligence and parental values. We examined a nonrecursive model in which parental values and measured intelligence were posited to reciprocally affect each other. The general pattern implied by the results of this analysis within racial categories (not presented here) supported the conclusion of no effects in either direction. Such results are supported by arguments by Bloom (1964) and others that measured intelligence at this age is relatively impervious to socialization effects. However, given the conjectural nature of our assumptions regarding the stability of values, we regard this as a very weak test at best. In any event, our analysis leaves unanswered the more important question of whether parental values are to be implicated in the early development of cognitive skills.

Figure 1.--Conceptual Model for the Relationships among Social Origins, Parental Values, Cognitive Complexity and Schooling Processes.



*Variables measured in the present analysis.

Table 1.--The Factor Analysis of Kohn's Parental Values Indicators in Eight Populations.

Indicator[4]	Population[1] (a)	(b)	(c)[2]	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)[3]
1. Manners	-.442	-.353	.000	-.457	-.356	-.315	-.478	-.527
2. Success	.163	-.035	.077	.284	.084	.058	.011	.075
3. Honest	.025	-.096	.188	-.367	-.213	-.162	-.213	-.321
4. Neat and clean	-.499	-.217	.093	-.458	-.396	-.411	-.244	-.513
5. Good sense	.248	.373	.205	.474	.406	.375	.395	.446
6. Self-control	.165	.245	.072	.148	.178	.023	.069	.185
7. Acts like should	-.053	-.194	-.059	-.069	-.115	-.173	-.113	---
8. Gets along	.030	.068	-.030	-.019	.122	-.045	-.089	-.008
9. Obeys parents	-.248	-.565	-1.000	-.323	-.488	-.446	-.424	-.264
10. Responsible	.243	.319	.310	.250	.237	.342	.556	.221
11. Considerate	.253	.301	.244	.085	.116	.173	.132	.206
12. Curious	.262	.323	.037	.459	.394	.560	.391	.408
13. Good student	-.108	-.185	-.144	-.051	-.083	-.089	-.198	-.170

[1]The populations are as follows: (a) Kohn's 1964 NORC U. S. fathers (n = 1,499), (b) 1973 NORC-General Social Survey (GSS) U. S. fathers (n = 218), (c) 1975 NORC-GSS U. S. fathers (n = 208), (d) 1976 NORC-GSS U. S. fathers (n = 127), (e) 1973 NORC-GSS U. S. mothers (n = 304), (f) 1975 NORC-GSS U. S. mothers (n = 268), (g) 1976 NORC-GSS U. S. mothers (n = 273), (h) Morgan's 1973 (Indianapolis Area Project) Louisville mothers (n = 460).

[2]This is a Heywood case (see Harman, 1967:117-18).

[3]The Louisville survey omitted item 7. In addition, the Louisville survey did not determine which item was least valued of all as is the case in all the other surveys.

[4]The NORC-GSS questions refer to "children in general," while Kohn's 1964 questions and those in the Louisville survey refer to the respondent's child.

Table 2.--Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables in the Analysis by Race and Gender: Louisville Public School Seniors (n = 460).

	Female (n = 258)		Male (n = 202)		Black (n = 181)		White (n = 279)	
Variable[1]	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD
RACE	.41	.49	.38	.49	--	--	--	--
SEX	--	--	--	--	.58	.49	.55	.50
HDED	11.66	2.68	11.76	2.84	11.62	2.24	11.75	3.02
SIBS	3.92	2.53	4.13	2.59	4.30	2.69	3.83	2.45
MOWC	.24	.43	.18	.38	.19	.40	.23	.42
MOBC	.24	.43	.21	.41	.31	.46	.17	.38
FINC	11.35	7.53	11.70	7.69	8.52	5.56	13.43	8.10
FAAB	.20	.40	.21	.41	.34	.48	.11	.32
FOCC	36.19	25.54	39.83	26.24	29.23	23.56	41.90	25.98
PVAL	-3.16	2.55	-3.06	2.78	-3.97	2.31	-2.57	2.71
VBIQ	104.54	15.41	102.51	16.10	95.75	12.79	108.49	15.43
GPA	3.57	1.17	2.95	1.11	3.06	1.11	3.47	1.20
CUR	.83	.82	.97	.77	.97	.73	.84	.84
ACT	1.88	1.61	1.43	1.42	1.58	1.53	1.76	1.55
PCON	8.01	1.22	7.99	1.29	7.84	1.21	8.10	1.26
ACSE	14.80	2.73	14.40	3.11	14.73	2.67	14.55	3.05
EDEXP	14.15	1.95	14.57	2.14	14.60	1.89	14.16	2.12
OCEXP	55.16	18.10	56.11	25.56	59.35	20.23	53.29	22.11

[1]Variable abbreviations are as follows: RACE - Race, SEX - Sex, HDED - Household head's education, SIBS - Number of siblings, MOWC - Mother's occupation, white collar, MOBC - Mother's occupation, blue collar, FINC - Family income, FAAB - Father absent, FOCC - Father's occupational status (Duncan SEI), VBIQ - Verbal I. Q., PVAL - Parental values, GPA - Grade point average, CUR - Curriculum placement, ACT - Extracurricular activities, PCON - Personal locus of control, ACSE - Academic self esteem, EDEXP - Educational expectations, OCEXP - Occupational status (Duncan SEI) expectations.

Table 3.--Effects of Social Origins, Parental Values and Measured Intelligence within Races: Louisville Public School Seniors (n = 460).

Predetermined Variables	Dependent Variable PVAL[1]	GPA	CUR	ACT	PCON	ACSE	EDEXP	OCEXP
				I. Blacks (n=181)				
SEX	.030	.248*	-.134*	.083	-.119	-.086	-.112	-.039
HDED	.080	-.019	.152*	.005	.098	-.219*	-.009	-.011
SIBS	.030	.080	-.024	-.009	-.073	-.001	-.031	-.023
MOWC	.065	.146*	.054	.159*	.012	-.122	.022	-.122
MOBC	-.065	.015	.087	.076	.053	-.135*	.025	.098
FINC	.065	.096	.108	.078	-.074	.099	.096	-.013
FAAB	-.029	.043	.018	.016	-.188	.007	-.171*	.084
FOCC	.126	-.092	.080	.097	-.035	.222*	.081	.083
VBIQ	.031	.456*	.281*	.237*	.258*	.465*	.156*	.267*
PVAL		.067	.004	.055	.025	-.023	.081	-.060
R^2	.079	.310	.229	.175	.155	.272	.134	.103
				II. Whites (n=279)				
SEX	.016	.220*	-.072	.170*	.048	.114*	-.092*	-.016
HDED	.049	-.136*	.190*	.001	-.063	-.223*	.108	-.152*
SIBS	-.069	.022	-.116*	-.059	-.109*	-.026	-.072	-.008
MOWC	.089	.016	.073	.059	-.044	.031	.077	-.032
MOBC	-.054	.059	.060	.004	-.083	.193*	.121*	.018
FINC	.080	.059	.080	.062	.025	.076	.130*	.067
FAAB	-.169*	.018	-.038	-.080	-.060	-.148*	.013	.018
FOCC	.385*	.066	.159*	.184*	.006	.345*	.280*	.254*
VBIQ	-.093	.514*	.171*	.165*	.223*	.425*	.177*	.308*
PVAL		.008	.170*	.139*	.001	.015	.027	.079
R^2	.283	.324	.388	.232	.088	.362	.345	.192

[1]Variable abbreviations are given in Table 2.

* $p < .05$

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